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ABSTRACT

While the Portuguese community, the largest ethnic group in southeastern Massachusetts, has contributed significantly to cultural life in New England, their participation in the region's educational and worklife has been minimal. This monograph examines the relationship between the socio-economic patterns that have emerged in southeastern Massachusetts and the educational characteristics of the region's Portuguese community (including Cape Verdeans, Azoreans, and Madeirans). Among other findings, the data reported show that: (1) low educational attainment levels prevail among southeastern Massachusetts residents in general; (2) the region has experienced comparatively high unemployment and low personal income; (3) half of the residents age 25 and over have not completed high school; and (4) low high school completion rate affects the numbers of college educated workers in the region since New England higher education institutions and employers draw from a smaller base of high school graduates. It is important that support be given for remedial work with potential dropouts in elementary and high schools, and that adult literacy programs in the region be strengthened. Seven references are included. (LT)

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ISSUES in planning and policymaking

EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTHEASTERN MASSACHUSETTS

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NEW ENGLAND BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTHEASTERN MASSACHUSETTS

Foreword

Early in 1989, the New England Board of Higher Education published Equity and Pluralism: Full Participation of Blacks and Hispanics in New England Higher Education. *This benchmark report warns that New England, with its wealth of higher-education institutions, has done poorly in educating its Black and Hispanic citizens; that this inequity threatens the region's economic well-being; and that a host of initiatives are required to correct the problem.*

Equity and Pluralism *is based largely on the premise that poverty and low levels of educational attainment go hand in hand. In preparing the report, NEBHE's Task Force on Black and Hispanic Student Enrollment and Retention in New England noted that Blacks and Hispanics are not the only population groups that were left behind as the region posted the lowest unemployment rates of any region of the United States and the highest personal income in the nation's history.*

In this edition of Issues, *Toby E. Huff, professor of sociology at Southeastern Massachusetts University, effectively clarifies the relationship between the socio-economic patterns that have emerged in southeastern Massachusetts and the educational characteristics of the southeastern Massachusetts Portuguese community (including Cape Verdeans, Azoreans and Madeirans).*

Education and Ethnicity in Southeastern Massachusetts *reveals low educational attainment among southeastern Massachusetts residents in general, and special educational problems for the area's large Portuguese community. Huff's monograph further reports that southeastern Massachusetts has experienced comparatively high unemployment and low personal income.*

In New Bedford and Fall River, the two chief cities of southeastern Massachusetts, the percentage of adults who do not have high-school diplomas has been significantly higher than that of the rest of the state for at least 50 years. Through much of the 1980s, the unemployment rates in both cities have been double the state's overall unemployment rate.

Huff notes that even with residents of Portuguese extraction excluded, southeastern Massachusetts fares poorly in terms of elementary-school and high-school completion. College attendance among southeastern Massachusetts residents is 10 percent below the state average.

Education and Ethnicity in Southeastern Massachusetts *should be as useful to policymakers as it is to ethnologists. Our region's economic "miracle" has been fueled by skilled labor, and our future economic well-being will depend on our capacity to generate a competent workforce suited to increasingly knowledge-intensive jobs. By 1995, an estimated 20 percent of all available job openings will require four or more years of college. Yet in southeastern Massachusetts, we find that half the residents age 25 and older have not completed high school.*

As the demand for college-educated, skilled workers grows, New England higher-education institutions and employers will draw from a smaller base of high-school graduates. NEBHE recently analyzed national data on the demographics of high-school graduation. Largely because of patterns in births and state-to-state migration, the number of New England high-school graduates will drop so fast that by 1994, the region will have 158,261—or 17 percent—fewer high-school graduates than would have been the case if high schools continued to graduate as many students as they did in 1988. In 1994, Massachusetts high schools will graduate 26 percent fewer seniors than in 1988.

The vibrant Portuguese community of southeastern Massachusetts has made significant contributions to New England cultural life, but clearly has not participated fully in the region's education and work life. Nor has it shared equally in New England's economic prosperity.

We face a moral and economic imperative to change that. Indeed, it is in our economic self-interest to support remedial work for elementary and high-school students who are headed toward dropping out, and to strengthen adult literacy programs, allowing more residents to join the skilled work force.

We trust that Education and Ethnicity in Southeastern Massachusetts *will spur action designed to ensure that all New Englanders reap the full benefits of education.*

John C. Hoy, *President*
New England Board of Higher Education

EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTHEASTERN MASSACHUSETTS

Introduction

It is estimated that between 1881 and 1981 more than 40 million immigrants came to this country.[1] The greatest wave of immigration occurred between 1880 and 1930, during which time some 27 million immigrants arrived, including more than 8 million south, central, and eastern Europeans.[2] While the southeastern Europeans in general have made remarkable progress on the ladders of educational and economic success in the United States, each group has had its own unique assimilative pattern and identifiable life style. Moreover, these patterns of assimilation have been affected by such factors as the timing of immigration, the types of occupational and linguistic skills possessed by the immigrants, the nature of available economic opportunities here, and the cultural values shaped by socialization and life experiences in the mother country.

Ethnicity and Southeastern Massachusetts

For most of the 20th century, and perhaps before, southeastern Massachusetts has been perceived to be culturally, economically, and educationally distinct from the rest of the state. A significant component of this uniqueness stems from the fact that 36 percent of the population 18 years of age and older is of Portuguese extraction.[3] Aside from this cultural distinction, there are several economic facts that define the region's uniqueness. The first is the continuing *economic lag* of the region behind the rest of the state. In 1985 the average industrial wage for the Fall River Labor Market Area was $14,301, 29 percent below the rate for the Lowell Labor Market Area.[4] Secondly, in comparison to the rest of the state, southeastern Massachusetts has a higher concentration of workers in manufacturing. For the state as a whole (in 1981), approximately 25 percent were in manufacturing, whereas the rates for Fall River and New Bedford were 37 percent.[5] In addition, it has long been noted that the unemployment rate for southeastern Massachusetts has continued to be about 50 percent above that of the rest of the state.[6]

The third unique factor in southeastern Massachusetts is its low level of *educational achievement*. For at least the last half century—and most probably since the late 19th century—the percentage of the individuals 25 years of age or older living in Fall River and New Bedford with no high-school diploma has ranged from 22 to 35 percent *higher* than the state average (see **Table 1**).

Table 1
Persons 25 Years and Older with No High-School Diploma: 1940-1980 (%)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Fall River	92	88	80	74	65
New Bedford	92	82	80	72	62
Massachusetts	70	58	53	42	28
% difference	**22**	**27**	**27**	**31**	**35.5**

Source: U.S. Census, selected volumes.

In **Table 2** we have a New England-region comparison that further highlights the uniqueness of southeastern Massachusetts. The remarkable figure is the 50 percent without high-school diplomas.

Table 2
Years of Schooling Completed: The U.S. and the Three-State Region (%)
(persons 25 years and over)

	0-11	12	13-15	16-20	n
U.S.*	33	33	17	17	(13,415)
S.E. Mass	**50**	**30**	**11**	**10**	**(12,708)**
Mass	28	36	16	20	(173,039)
RI	39	32	13	16	(28,819)
Conn	30	34	15	21	(94,942)

Source: U.S. Census, 1980, *Census of the Population: Public Access Micro-Sample* (PUMS) Sample A (5%) CT, MA, RI.

*James Davis, 1984, *The General Social Survey, Cumulative File: 1972-1984*. A Machine Readable Data File. The Roper Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs. All others from PUMS.

New England and Ethnicity

Before pursuing these questions regarding region, ethnicity, and educational attainment, it may be useful to review the ethnic makeup of Southeastern Massachusetts as well as that of Rhode Island and Connecticut. As we see in **Table 3**, persons of Portuguese background are by far the largest ethnic group in southeastern Massachusetts. For this report, I have defined southeastern Massachusetts as that group of 21 cities and towns that includes and surrounds Fall River and New Bedford. For this narrowly defined region the 1980 Census estimated the population to be 419,233. As we see from **Table 4**, this area includes 58 percent of the Portuguese of Massachusetts. The next largest group lives in "Central Massachusetts," with the balance living in the "outer ring" that comprises the band of cities and towns from Attleboro in the northwest, through the Brockton area, along

the edge of the South Shore and from there to the Cape and the Islands.[7]

Table 3
Major Ancestry Groups in Southeastern Massachusetts
(persons 25 years and older)

Ancestry Group	%
British	19.2
Irish	9.7
N.West European	19.3
Portuguese	35.1
Italian	3.3
S.E. European	1.6
Polish	4.5
Fr.Canadian	3.1
Non European	1.6
Black	.3
NoFornborn	2.1
Missing/Other	7.8
	100% (n = 12,708)

Source: PUMS 1980, 5% percent sample, Sample A

Table 4
The Portuguese of Massachusetts
(Persons 18 years and older)

	Sample N	Percent	Population Estimate
S.E. Mass	4938	58.1	98,760
Outer Ring	1010	11.8	20,200
Ctrl Mass	2558	30.1	51,160
Total	8506	100%	170,120

Source: PUMS 1980

The "central core" of southeastern Massachusetts and the "outer ring" account for 70 percent of the Portuguese living in Massachusetts. Although southeastern Massachusetts is unique in its high concentration of Portuguese, there are also significant populations of Portuguese in the other New England states (as shown in **Table 5**). If we add about 30 percent to the figures in Massachusetts to account for the population under 18 years of age, then the total Portuguese population in Massachusetts climbs to about a quarter million (221,156). Fifty-eight percent of these (about 130,000) are concentrated in a small area about 20 miles square, extending northward from the cities of New Bedford and Fall River.

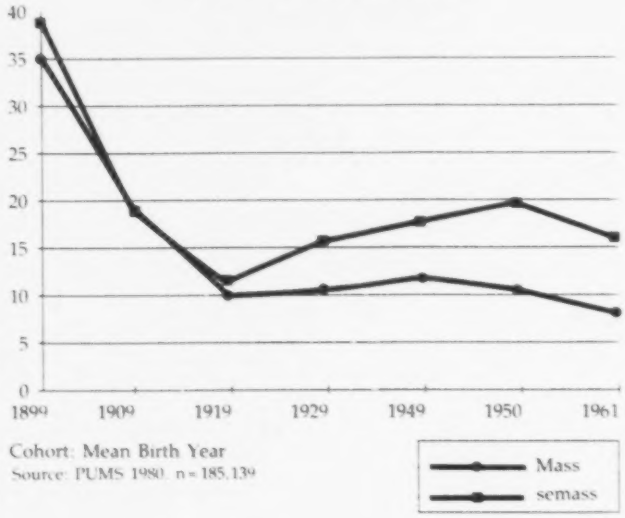
Table 5
The Portuguese of Mass., Rhode Island and Connecticut
(persons 18 years and older)

	Sample	%	Population Estimate
Massachusetts	8506	4.5	170,120
Rhode Island	2907	9	58,140
Connecticut	1203	1.2	24,060

Patterns of Immigration

In order to understand the uniqueness of southeastern Massachusetts and its seemingly skewed distributions of educational, occupational and economic attainment, we need to review the unique immigration patterns of the region. In **Figure 1** we see that immigration to southeastern Massachusetts was substantial at the turn of the century and then paralleled the rate for the state as a whole for the next two decades. It then rose to a higher level, where it stayed until at least 1980. Secondly, Portuguese immigration to Massachusetts is atypical in comparison to that of other European ethnic groups.

Figure 1
The Foreign-Born of Massachusetts
Percent Foreign-Born By Cohort
(Persons 18 Years and Older)

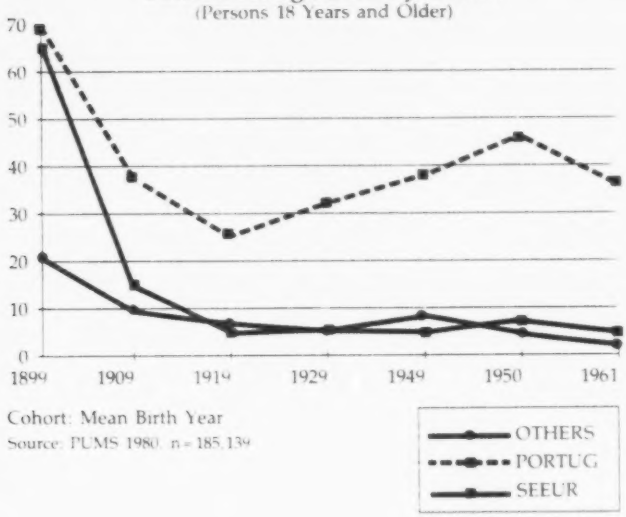


Cohort: Mean Birth Year
Source: PUMS 1980, n=185,139

In **Figure 2** I have plotted the percentage of each birth cohort that was foreign-born for three groups: for the Portuguese, for southeastern Europeans[8], and for all the other ethnic groups combined—principally English, Irish, and other northwestern Europeans. For the time period covered by the first three cohorts—those born between 1883 and 1923—the percentage of foreign-born individuals in each cohort was about the same for Massachusetts as for southeastern Massachusetts. However, beginning with the fourth cohort, the percentage of foreign-born in each cohort in southeastern Massachusetts begins to rise while that for the rest of the state levels off and declines. Consequently, in 1980, 13 percent of the whole Massachusetts population was foreign-born, while 19 percent was foreign-born in southeastern Massachusetts.

Thus, when we look at the percentage who are foreign-born by ancestry groups, there is a considerable difference between the Portuguese and all

Figure 2
Foreign-Born by Ethnic Group in Southeastern Mass. Percent Foreign-Born By Cohort
(Persons 18 Years and Older)



Cohort: Mean Birth Year
Source: PUMS 1980. n = 185,139

others. Even when compared to southeastern Europeans, the Portuguese rate of foreign nativity is more than three times as high. In addition the cohort graph suggests that Portuguese immigration has continued during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, while the immigration of other Europeans dropped off to less than 10 percent after the cohort of 1909.

Table 6
Native and Foreign-Born in Southeastern Massachusetts By Ancestry Group(%)
(Persons 25 Years and Older)

	US	Foreign	n
OTHER	92.1	7.9	6207.0
PORTUG	61.8	38.2	4111.0
SEEUR	88.6	11.4	1109.0
All	80.8	19.2	11,427

Indeed, for the United States, the total number of immigrants from Portugal doubled between 1930 and 1981.[9] This pattern is confirmed by **Table 7**, which records the period of immigration of Portuguese-identified individuals. Of those who were born in a foreign place, 67 percent immigrated between 1965 and 1980. These trends seem to confirm the analysis of the "new Portuguese mass immigration" that was initiated by a change in U.S. immigration laws around 1958.[10]

Table 7.
Region by Period of Immigration (%)
(Portuguese only; persons 18 years and older)

	1965-80	'60-64	'50-59	Before '50	
Ctrl Mass	72	8	7	11	
Outer Ring	50	9	12	29	
SEMASS	65	9	9	17	
ALL	67	9	8	16	(N = 3289)

Source: PUMS 1980

Language Skills and Native Cultural Capital

We now see several issues related to educational achievement in southeastern Massachusetts: the first is the much higher level of foreign-born persons living in southeastern Massachusetts due to the continuous pattern of Portuguese immigration (**Figure 3**).

Table 8.
Place of Birth by Region (%)
(Portuguese only; persons 18 years and older)

	U.S.	Foreign	
Ctrl Mass	50	50	
Outer Ring	81	19	
SEMASS	**62**	**38**	
ALL	61	39	(n = 8506)

Foreign nativity obviously affects language skills and the process of assimilation.

The Census data indicates that 55 percent of Portuguese-identified individuals speak a language other than English at home. In comparison to Hispanics, this is a considerably lower rate. For example, a recent study based on the Census data for the United States reports that the overall reported rate of speaking Spanish at home for Mexicans was 81 percent, for Puerto Ricans 88 percent, and for Cubans 93 percent.[11]

But how well do these non-English speakers at home speak English outside the home? For the Portuguese of Massachusetts, of those speaking a language other than English at home, 34 percent either cannot speak English or cannot speak it well. On the other hand, the percentage of those who cannot speak English well or at all is lower than the percentage who are foreign born (34 versus 39 percent, **Table 8**). This pattern seems to suggest that Portuguese immigrants do learn English at a measurable rate, and that only about 18 percent (.55 x .34 = 18) of all Portuguese-identified persons have a problem with English.

Table 9.
Ability to Speak English: Portuguese Only (%)
(persons 18 years and over)

	Well	Not Well	
Ctrl Mass	59	41	
Outer ring	83	17	
SEMASS	**67**	**33**	
ALL	66	34	(n = 4557)

Nevertheless, for employment and policy purposes, this may be an unsuitably high figure, since it represents about 31,000 individuals in Massachusetts and about 17,000 persons age 18 and older in southeastern Massachusetts.

But in addition to the language-skills problem, we ought to consider the educational capital with which immigrants arrive in this country. As we see in **Table 10**, as a point of educational origin, individuals from Portugal and/or Portuguese-administered territories start off with the lowest levels of educational attainment of any of the major ethnic groups.

Figure 3
Percentage Difference: Foreign-Born Individuals
Massachusetts vs SEMASS; Persons 18 Years and Older

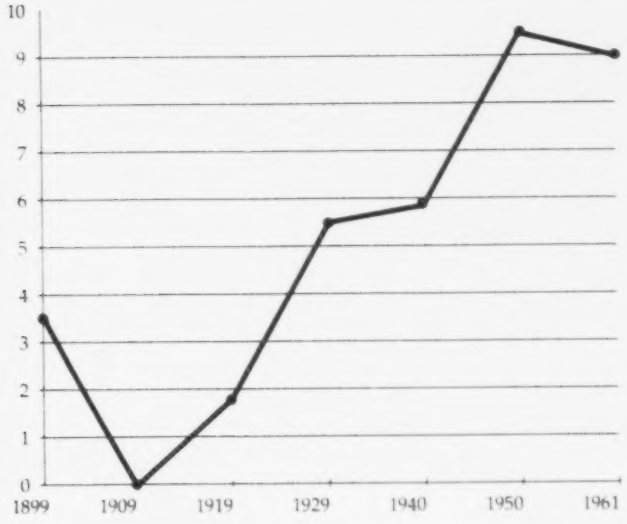


Table 11 provides an overview of the "highest grade attended" as reported by foreign-born Portuguese by period of immigration. Remarkably, there has been no improvement in the levels of educational attainment of foreign-born Portuguese immigrants to this country during the last 80 years. Indeed, if we look at the percentage of those with the equivalent of seven years or less of schooling, for the whole period, we see that the situation worsened: it started at 67 percent with seven years or less of schooling, dropped to the 50-to-70-percent range and then ended with 68 percent having attended only seven years or less of schooling.

Table 10
Years of Education by Ancestry: Foreign-Born Only (%)
(Southeastern Massachusetts: persons 18 years or older)

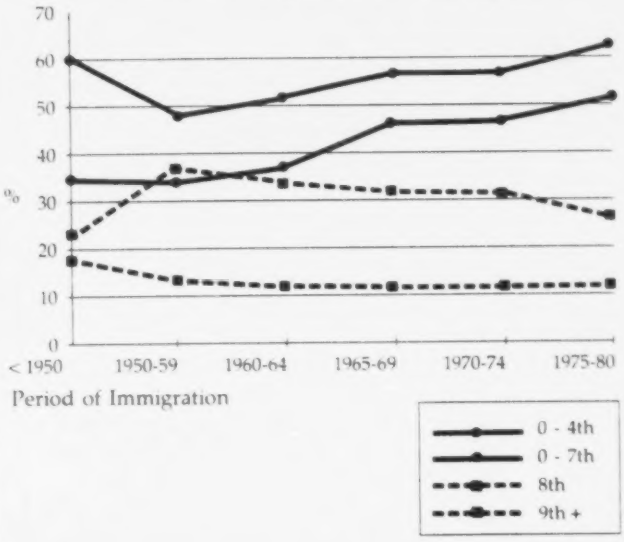
	0-8	9-11	12	13-20	n
BRIT[12]	38	17	28	17	(171)
IRISH	23	19	42	15	(26)
NWEUR	43	15	22	20	(162)
PORTUG	**78**	**9**	**9**	**4**	**(1871)**
SEEUR	67	7	16	10	(135)
FR.CAN	67	17	8	8	(36)
UNEUR	32	13	20	35	(123)
All	69	10	13	8	2524

Table 11
Highest Grade Attended: Foreign-Born Individuals in Southeastern Massachusetts (Portuguese Only) Grade (%)

Date of Immigration	0-4th	5th-7th	0-7th	8th	9th +	
Before 1950	36	31	67	18	15	
1950-59	36	19	55	17	28	
1960-64	43	17	60	16	24	
1965-70	52	11	63	11	26	
1970-74	56	10	66	10	23	
1975-80	58	10	68	9	23	(n = 1848)

Figure 4 shows the pattern for all the foreign-born Portuguese of Massachusetts. Both the percentage of those with zero to four years of schooling and the combined zero to seven years increased over the century, while the percentage with nine years or more decreased after 1959.

Figure 4
Highest Grade Attended by Foreign-Born Portuguese in Massachusetts by Period of Immigration



In short, given their historically conditioned immigration patterns, this extremely low level of educational capital was bound to have a large impact on the efficiency of the local educational systems. The greatest impact would be in southeastern Massachusetts, and this is indicated in **Table 12.** What is remarkable is the very large per-

Table 12.
Years of Education by Region
(persons 18 years and over)

	0-8	9-11	12	13-15	16	17-20	n
Ctrl Mass	11	13	37	19	10	9	(173,698)
Outer ring	8	13	44	21	11	7	(22,720)
SEMASS	**30**	**17**	**32**	**12**	**6**	**3**	**(14,982)**

centages with eight years or less as well as the combined percentages with less than high-school diplomas for the southeastern Massachusetts region (30 and 47 percent, respectively).

If we look at the levels of educational attainment for the Portuguese only, we see the perpetuation of this low level of educational attainment in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut (**Table 13**). In all three locations the percentage of those without high-school diplomas reaches nearly 60 percent.

Table 13.
Years of Education by Region: Portuguese Only (%)
(persons 18 years and older)

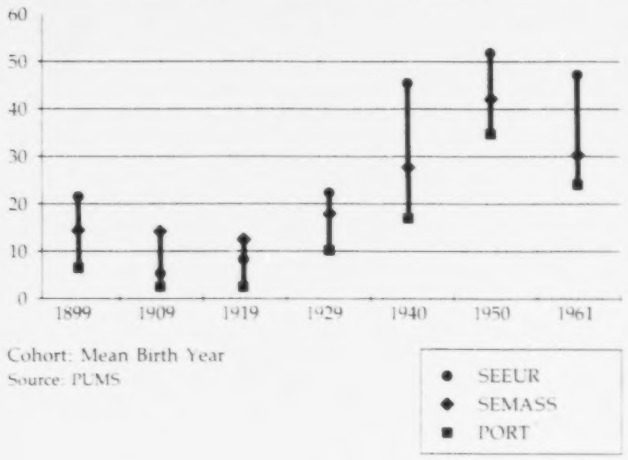
	0-11	12	13-20	
A. **Massachusetts**				
Ctrl Mass	53	30	17	
Outer ring	43	42	15	
SEMASS	**65**	**24**	**11**	
B. **New England**				
Massachusetts	58	28	14	(8506)
Rhode Island	59	27	14	(2907)
Connecticut	56	28	16	(1203)

Assimilation and Regional Effects

As we saw in **Table 6**, a significant proportion of individuals of Portuguese extraction (39 percent) immigrated to the United States during the last 80 years. Accordingly, we should compare the levels of educational attainment of native-born individuals, i.e., the second and third generations of European immigrants. In **Figure 5** I have plotted the percentage of native-born individuals (in southeastern Massachusetts) who have achieved at least some college education by birth cohort. There are several notable features. While the percentage with some college education has increased over the years, the gap between Portuguese-identified persons and the regional population as a whole has decreased. On the other hand, the difference in educational attainment between the Portuguese and other southeastern Europeans has increased. No doubt a major factor in this latter comparison derives from the much earlier period of immigration of the southeastern Europeans in general (see **Figure 2**). Thirdly, the percentage of those with some college education has dropped off for *all* groups in the youngest cohort (those born between 1954 and 1964). In short, when foreign nativity is taken into account, the educational disparities remain but do not appear so large.

Lastly we may look at the "regional" effects on education. **Table 14** compares the unadjusted percentages of educational achievement of southeastern Massachusetts and the rest of the state.

Figure 5
Native-Born Persons 18 Years and Older With Some College by Ancestry Group and Cohort (%)



Cohort: Mean Birth Year
Source: PUMS

Table 14
Years of Education: State vs Region (%)
(persons 18 years and older)

	0-8	9-11	12	13-15	16	17-20	
Massachusetts	12.2	13.6	37.4	18.7	9.9	8.2	(211,400)
S.E. Mass	30.1	16.8	31.9	12.2	5.7	3.3	(14,982)
% diff(Semass-Mass)	**17.9**	**3.2**	**-5.5**	**-6.5**	**-4.2**	**-4.9**	

Pearson chi-square = 4559, statistically significant at the .01 level

The differences at each level are significant. The biggest gap is in the zero to eight years of schooling range, but there are also shortfalls in the high-school and college levels in southeastern Massachusetts. Thus, for those with incomplete high-school educations—those with zero to 11 years of schooling—southeastern Massachusetts has a rate 21 percent higher than the state among those 18 years and older. Of course, this comparison does not adjust for the higher percentage of individuals in southeastern Massachusetts who were foreign-born. But we can perform a statistical experiment here that will adjust for both the higher rate of foreign-born individuals and the other Portuguese influences that may exist in the region. We can do this simply by omitting the Portuguese from the comparison and recalculating the results. This was done in **Table 15**. The results (as shown in the se-

Table 15
Years of Education: Massachusetts vs S.E. Massachusetts[13]
(*Portuguese Omitted from S.E. Mass)

	0-8	9-11	12	13-15	16	17-20	n
Massachusetts	12.2	13.6	37.4	18.7	9.9	8.2	(211,400)
S.E. Mass	20.1	16.7	36.5	15.0	7.4	4.3	(10,044)
%diff	**7.9**	**3.1**	**-.9**	**-3.7**	**-2.2**	**-3.9**	

Chi-square = 559, statistically significant at .01

cond row) indicate that the percentage of those with only eight years or less of schooling in southeastern Massachusetts is considerably reduced (i.e. from 30 to 20 percent) by eliminating the Portuguese from the calculations. Thus, a policy directed toward the elevation of Portuguese educational achievement targeted on those with eight years or less of schooling would reduce the number of persons with only zero to eight years of formal schooling by 30 percent. While the percentage of those with nine to 11 years of schooling does not change, we see that targeting the high at-risk Portuguese population increases the percentage of high-school graduates by 5 percent, or an increase of about 15 percent in the absolute number of high-school graduates in the region. Likewise, on the college level we see that the percentage of those with some college increases from 12.2 to 15 percent (a 23-percent increase for the region), while those with four years or more of college rises from 9 to 11.7 percent—a 30-percent increase for the region.

Accordingly, with regard to the regional question—Would controlling for the percentage with Portuguese backgrounds reduce the difference between the state and the region to statistical insignificance?—the table indicates the answer is "no": the differences in levels of educational achievement (after controlling for the effects of the Portuguese population) are still significantly different except for high-school graduates. For the combined categories of incomplete high-school educations (i.e., 0-11), the rate for southeastern Massachusetts remains 9 percent higher. In comparison to the "outer ring," the high-school incompletion rate for southeastern Massachusetts (without the influence of the Portuguese) remains 16 percent higher (cf. **Table 12**) In short, by controlling for the "Portuguese factor" we can reduce the high-school incompletion rate by about 25 percent, or the percentage with zero to eight years of schooling by about 30 percent. Nevertheless, that leaves the rate of elementary and high-school incompletion higher than both the state average and that of the outer ring of southeastern Massachusetts. At the college level, the attendance rate is 10 percent below the state average. Hence, we conclude that there is a "regional factor" which is independent of the presence of the Portuguese with its large contingent of recent immigrants and foreign-born individuals. To the degree that levels of elementary and high school attendance rates are influenced by parental income, it is possible that this estimate of the "regional" factor is also influenced by the low levels of family income in the region.[14] However, since elementary and secondary education is free, it seems likely that the "cultural resources" (or "cultural capital") of the local population and the availability of alternative economic opportunities continue to play a large role in shaping educational choices.

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[1] Vincent N. Parrillo, 1985, Strangers to These Shores, 2nd Edition, McMillan (Appendix).

[2] Stanley Lieberson, 1980, A Piece of the Pie, Black and White Immigrants Since 1880, University of Chicago Press.

[3] Throughout this report I have used the single-ancestry responses of the U.S. Census, PUMS (Public Access Micro Samples) Sample A (5 percent) of the 1980 Census. The combined group of Portuguese includes those from mainland Portugal, Cape Verdeans, Madeirans, and Azoreans. Some are also from Brazil.

[4] Figures supplied by the Labor Research Staff, MDE.

[5] Governor's Commission on the Future of Mature Industries, Appendices (1984, p. A-39).

[6] For the five year period 1983 to 1987, the average difference in unemployment rates between the Commonwealth and the Fall River and New Bedford Labor Market Areas was 58.1. In other words, the unemployment rate for Fall River and New Bedford was about double that of the rest of the state for the five-year period (Mass. Division of Employment and Training, 1988, Employment Trends, Fall River, 1980-87, 1988, Employment Trends, New Bedford MSA 1980-87).

The northern *boundary* of the "outer ring" includes Plainville, Mansfield, Easton, Avon, Abington, Norwell, Hingham and Cohasset.

[7] This group, "southeastern Europeans," is referred to by Stanley Lieberson as the "South—Central—Eastern" Europeans (Lieberson 1980, Chapter 2). In this analysis, the southeastern Europeans (SEEUR) include the following countries of origin: Greece, Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary and one or two other east European countries.

[8] Vincent N. Parrillo, 1985, Strangers to These Shores, 2nd Edition, McMillan (Appendix).

[10] Leo Pap, 1981, Portuguese Americans, Boston, Twayne.

[11] Candace Nelson and Marta Tienda, 1985, The Structuring of Hispanic Ethnicity: Historic and Contemporary Perspectives pp 49-74, Richard D. Alba, Ethnicity and Race in the U.S.A. Toward the 21st Century, Boston, Rutledge and Keegan Paul.

[12] This grouping of ancestry groups is a variation of that developed by James Davis (1987, Social Differences in Contemporary America: 35-37, Harcourt, New York). NWEUR- Northwestern Europeans; SEEUR- Southeastern Europeans; Fr. Can- French Canadians; UNEUR- non-Europeans.

[13] This table was produced by the following steps: I first omitted the Portuguese from the southeastern Massachusetts data and then calculated the marginals. Then I created a new table with these adjusted marginals and the census figures for the whole Commonwealth.

[14] Median family income in 1980 for Massachusetts was $21,166; for Fall River and New Bedford it was $16,876 and $16,915 respectively, about 25 percent lower.

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